

824 forest, gathers the herb in question, wraps it in a piece of cloth, and
842 brings it to the woman, who immediately starts chewing it. This is
mostly practised only by mothers who have already been blessed with
a numerous offspring.

• 843 Both Iloko and Kagayan attach much weight to the capricious
811 appetite of a pregnant woman, and to whatever she loves or loathes
at the time, all of which they believe to have its repercussion on the
baby that has to be born. So some years ago a certain Kagayan
mother gave birth to a child whose skin was much more lightly colored
than that of its brothers and sisters, and everybody explained the
occurrence by the fact that the mother, while pregnant, had had a
very great devotion to a statue of the Divine Babe, which was either
made of white material or at least painted white, and that she had
gone almost daily to pray in front of the statue in question. All
Isneg, however, whom I questioned on the subject disclaimed both
knowledge of such a belief and its existence among their people.

843 Whatever may be the reason, the Isneg do not seem to dread the
716 intervention of the spirits (*anito*) before the actual birth of the child.
Do they perhaps imagine that the *anito* are ignorant about the ways
of the flesh, and that they do not know the meaning of pregnancy?
Or do they believe that the spirits have no power on children as yet
unborn? The latter is probably the case. I think that in their eyes,
as long as a child dwells in the womb of its mother, only what enters
the body (food, semen) is able to exert any influence on it, and that
[833] outsiders can in no way affect it. And so, except for a few beliefs
with reference to food, the only precaution that is taken during the
pregnancy of the mother is that the husband ceases having sexual
intercourse with his wife so soon as her state is known with certainty,
lest, so they say, the babe be injured. For the rest everything
runs its usual course, and, although such a large number of magical
and other practices have come to my notice at every other period
of the life of the Isneg, the period that precedes the birth of a child
has so far proved to be completely devoid of any belief in the evil
influence of one spirit or another.

843 In some places a woman who is pregnant for the first time, is be-
824 lieved to assure the good health of her babe after its birth, if she eats
assan, which is the fruit of a kind of tree that grows in the forest.

843 These are the articles of food forbidden to pregnant women which
262 have come to my notice:
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THE ISNEG LIFE CYCLE

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From a Dangla informant:

Three kinds of sugar cane:

- The *saradaw*, which has a yellow skin;
- The *lokog*, with a dark-purple skin;
- The *banotan*, with a reddish-brown skin.

Three kinds of bananas:

- The *dokkasi*, which is a very large banana with a thick yellow skin;
- The *parandn*, which is very small and has a thin yellow skin, its taste is more or less sour, and it grows in very large bunches;
- The *kippokan* (Iloko: *alimukan*), a small egg-shaped banana with a thin greenish skin.

The terminal bud of cabbage (*baranibad*) of the fish-tail palm (*anisobn*, *Caryota cumingii* Lodd.).

The *tobol* or soft meat of a sprouting coconut, lest the woman experience difficulty in giving birth to her child.

From a Nagbabalayan informant:

Legs of a pig, for the same reason as in the case of the *tobol*.

It should be noted in this connection that taboos are not always universally observed all over the district of Apayaw. For instance, a certain article of food may be forbidden over a comparatively large area, while everywhere else such a taboo is unknown and consequently unobserved.

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B. CHILDBIRTH AND POST-NATAL CARE

A pregnant (*nabu-sit*; *bu-sit*, in Isneg, means "fetus"; *buksit*, in Iloko, means "belly, abdomen"; "fetus", in Iloko, is *sikug*) woman goes about her ordinary duties up to the last moment. I have known a Kankanay woman who gave birth to her child while she was working in an irrigated rice field, and, although I know of no similar cases among the Isneg, it has been told me more than once that an Isneg mother could give birth to her child anywhere, even though walking and at work. On other occasions, while inquiring about their proper names, I was told that a woman who gave birth to a child in the bush, might call her child "Bush" (*sirdt*); if she brought forth her offspring near some tree, the name of that particular tree might be given to the newborn babe. All this goes to prove that the intensive care taken by and for a future mother in more civilized areas is entirely absent and considered as quite superfluous among our sturdy mountaineers.

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- 843 Nevertheless such extreme cases are the exception, as may be readily understood. Under normal conditions an Isneg mother is delivered at home surrounded by persons who are in a position to assist her and to look out for whatever is necessary or suitable on this important occasion.

843 If a future mother is able to secure some *taxanlaká* or *onlaká*, this is fortunate indeed: in the eyes of the Isneg, this herb exerts a magical influence on the birth of a child, and the mother who carries the *taxanlaká* (in Iloko *laká* means "easiness") on her body will be delivered without the least difficulty. The *máyanaw* vine also is supposed to have the same power. Should she happen, however, to meet *ailónag* (a small herb), the Isneg are firmly convinced that a single look at these nefarious plants will cause her to experience much difficulty in giving birth to her child.

1. Normal Cases

- 844 I shall first examine the usual case of a single living child that is born to a couple of happy parents; later on a few abnormalities will be considered.

Here, even from the beginning, I am confronted with contradictory statements, namely with reference to the place of the house where the mother gives birth (*mazan-and*, from *an-and*, "child") to her child. Some say that the mother is delivered near the place of the hearth; others assert that any part of the house will do. From Bayag comes a corroboration of the first statement: at that place the kitchen is usually separated from the house proper, and it was told me that in case a woman was in labor the hearth would be taken out of the kitchen and brought to the house, after which the child would be born near this transferred hearth.

Everything considered I do not think it very difficult to explain the contradiction involved in the above statements and to arrive at the exact truth about the matter. All my informants agreed that the place of a woman after her delivery was near the hearth (*dapág*) of the house. Now, whereas all these informants were men, and men have no business to be present at the exact moment of child-birth, the real place may very easily have escaped the notice of some of them in every instance, and the subsequent position of the mother may have led them to believe that the actual place was the original one. Besides, it is obvious that, whenever possible, the mother will go near the hearth from the beginning in order to avoid the trouble of being

They always believe that water flows off the earth. 823
Their reason is that, if the water does not flow off the earth, it would have been full of water a long time ago. So it is still believed by some of the Apayaos that water flows off the earth.

DONKOAN AND HIS WIFE DOMMARIA

There was a man and his wife. The name of 843
the man was Donkoan and the wife Dommamia. He instructed his pregnant wife that she should not go to any other house or go any distance as he was going away to trade. He started out; but did not say where, merely telling his wife that he would spend several days on his trip. On the second day, a woman named Malagamsi, a former sweetheart of Donkoan, came and asked Dommamia to go and look for certain sour fruits. Dommamia said: "I cannot go with you, for my husband told me not to go out." But Malagamsi said: "He will not know, and we will only go to the top of that hill." However, Dommamia would not go. Malagamsi came again the next day and tried to persuade Dommamia to go if only to the top of the hill. At first, she refused; but finally, as Malagamsi said that she had seen a *balococo* (a very sour fruit tree) on the top of the hill, Dommamia agreed, providing the tree was very near. She said that they must get back soon, for her husband would find out and scold her. So they started out.

They climbed quite a distance up the hill but did not come to the *balococo*. Dommamia said: "where is the tree?" Malagamsi said: "Only a little way further."

843 They went on, and Dommara said she was not able to go further as her stomach was beginning to hurt. Malagamsi persuaded her to go on and they finally reached the tree. Then they discussed who would climb the tree: for Dommara said that she should not as she was pregnant. But she was so urged that she finally did climb to the top of the tree. Then Malagamsi started to shake the tree. "Please do not shake the tree, and I will give you a breechcloth," called Dommara from the top of the tree. But Malagamsi continued to shake the tree. Again Dommara cried: "Please do not shake the tree or I will hurt my unborn baby. I will give you a ring." But Malagamsi kept on shaking the tree until Dommara fell out of the tree. She happened to fall into a hole and stuck there. Malagamsi did not help her; but returned home to the house of Dommara, pretending to be the wife of Donkoan.

That night Donkoan reached home. It was dark and he said: "Please open the door, Dommara." Malagamsi opened the door and Donkoan went in. Malagamsi put a coconut shell as a pad on her stomach so that Donkoan would think that she was his wife.

000 The following morning a small bird flew to the window saying: "Why are you working for that man, since you are not his wife?" Donkoan asked what the bird was saying. Malagamsi said she did not know and took a fire brand to strike the bird. Donkoan told her to leave the bird alone, as he wanted to hear what the bird was talking about. However, he could not understand it.

*kinague na kano yanna keddi. Napanam ne Legayan ooo
tahzhepay ya awan."*

Once in the olden times, a man named Lagayan went to hunt in Mount Kalawag. When he reached the top of Mount Kalawag, he found a tree bearing *masihap* (costly beads) as fruit. He took his bag and picked as many as he could. While he was getting the fruit of the tree, his dogs caught a wild pig near him. He set the bag of beads down and went to get the pig caught by his dogs nearby. When he returned to the place where he had found the tree, he could not find it any more. He had only three of the *masihap* which he had put in his G-string. When he returned home, he told the people that he had found a tree whose fruit was all *masihap*. The people did not believe him; but he showed them the three *masihap* which he had put in his G-string. He asked them to go and find the tree again. So they went; but found nothing on the mountain. But a bird came above them singing: "Lagayan comes to get some more of the *masihap*; but it is no more."

AN ANCIENT FISH STORY

Thousand and thousands of years ago there lived a couple in the *barangay* of Maliwatog. The name of the man was Sodac and his wife was Mora. She was [243] pregnant for two years without giving birth. One day they went to take a bath in the brook. When they were beside the brook, they saw a fish, which Mora envied for its earrings. So they tried to catch the fish, but they were not able to do so. Then they went